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AUTHOR Jones, Nancy Baker
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ABSTRACT

In 1917, the Leslie Bureau of Suffrage Education was created in New York. The Bureau was to be the news purveyor, publicity expert, and propaganda carrier, disseminating suffrage material through every available avenue of publicity. One of its departments, the Department of Editorial Correspondence, was chaired by Ida Husted Harper. Of her 66 years, Harper had spent 40 working in support of women's rights and suffrage. Harper took her responsibility seriously, for in the two years she served the Leslie Bureau, she issued nearly 8,000 letters. Ida Husted Harper was typical of the second generation suffragist: her early writings indicate that she saw the vote as a means toward social reform, especially temperance. Her later work for the Leslie Bureau reveals that she regarded the vote as an end in itself. She also believed white women were superior to nonwhites and that the only appropriate tactic to win reform was to work with the power structure, not to offend it. Her primary tactic was to fit her material to her audience. While the Congressional Union and Woman's Party deserved a great deal of credit for the success of the Nineteenth Amendment, it is likely that neither group could claim all the credit, for it took a combination of tactics to win. In any event, the road to victory seemed so certain that Harper closed the editorial department in December 1918. (HOD)

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History Division

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IDA HUSTED HARPER AND THE LESLIE BUREAU OF SUFFRAGE EDUCATION

by

Nancy Baker Jones

American Civilization
The University of Texas
Austin, Texas

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Early in February, 1917, women at the New York City headquarters of the National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA) watched as a fortune was delivered to their Madison Avenue office: diamonds, emeralds, pearls, and rubies, valued at nearly $35,000, plus another half million dollars in cash and bonds, were all turned over to Carrie Chapman Catt, NAWSA president. That February 6th marked the first of a series of such deliveries which by early September totalled nearly $1 million. For Catt that winter day also marked the close of a long and bitterly disputed legal battle over a legacy left her by "Frank Leslie," a legacy which was originally valued at nearly twice what Catt finally received. "Frank Leslie," born Miriam Florence Follin, was the successful publisher of LESLIE's WEEKLY and other illustrated magazines who had taken her late third husband's name as her own. It stuck, even though she was calling herself the Baroness de Bazus when she died in 1914. "Frank Leslie" was regarded as something of an eccentric, but when the terms of her will became public, she was called crazy: she had left nearly all of her estate to Catt and the suffrage cause--about $2 million. For nearly two and a half years, relatives and estate executives fought over the fortune, calling into question not only Leslie's sanity, but her racial lineage as well. When the case was finally settled in 1917, Catt took what was left of her inheritance and opened the Leslie Woman Suffrage Commission.[1]

The Leslie Commission was designed to fulfill Catt's belief that if the public were educated about suffrage, they would support it.[2] It was part of Catt's master plan to win the vote for women once and for all. She was leading a fight that had begun nearly 70 years earlier when, at Seneca Falls,

New York, Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Lucretia Mott had declared their sentiments that women deserved the right to vote. In 1900, Catt had succeeded Susan B. Anthony as president of NAWSA, then relinquished the job in 1902 to Dr. Anna Howard Shaw. For the next 13 years, Shaw presided over an organization which slumped from doldrums into paralysis. Anthony's death in 1906 left the movement without its great leader, Congressional action on suffrage was dead, and interest in the states had evaporated. By 1915 NAWSA was nearly bankrupt and feeling enormous competition from the Congressional Union (CU), the activist suffrage organization formed in 1913 by Alice Paul and Lucy Burns. Shaw, while a great orator, was no organizer and finally left office. Carrie Chapman Catt was drafted into NAWSA's presidency at its annual meeting in December, 1915.[3]

During the summer of 1916 the Democratic, Republican, Progressive, Socialist, and Prohibition parties all declared in favor of woman suffrage, although with different tactics in mind for achieving it: the two major parties advocated amendments to state constitutions and the three other parties favored a federal constitutional amendment. Catt took advantage of the political climate. She gave credit for resurrecting interest in woman suffrage to the Congressional Union, then took advantage of their work by mobilizing the moribund NAWSA. At its 1916 convention, she convinced the membership to support the federal amendment process, to exclude affiliates not in agreement with NAWSA's policy, and to initiate her comprehensive plan to secure the vote.[4]

Catt's plan called for a "nation-wide campaign of agitation, education, organization and publicity" that included raising a million dollars, con-

ducting monthly "propaganda demonstrations" simultaneously throughout the country, appointing four campaign directors and a national network of 200 organizers, and creating speakers bureaus, suffrage schools, a national committee to educate "non-English-speaking races," a national press bureau, a national publicity council with departments in each state, a national "scheme" for education through literature, and "innumerable activities for agitation and publicity."[5]

The delivery of the Leslie jewels, then, was more than simply fortunate. The Leslie money allowed Catt to carry out her plan. The Leslie money paid for salaries, rent, travel, and supplies; it contributed to the International Woman Suffrage Alliance, of which Catt was also president; it supported state campaigns NAWSA deemed crucial, paid legal fees, and supported the publication of NAWSA's official magazine, the WOMAN CITIZEN, and several books, including the HISTORY OF WOMAN SUFFRAGE.[6] Most important, the Leslie money allowed Catt to bring into action the core of her plan, to educate the American public.

To do this, Catt created the Leslie Bureau of Suffrage Education within the Leslie Commission. The Bureau was to be the "news purveyor, publicity expert and propaganda carrier," disseminating suffrage material "through every available avenue of publicity."[7] The entire fifteenth floor at NAWSA's headquarters building was given to the Bureau's six departments: News, Feature Story Services, Field Press, Research, Magazine, and Editorial Correspondence. The News Department issued daily news stories, interviews, statistics, challenges to "antis," and reports of suffrage activity from throughout the country. It also issued a weekly

bulletin and provided an information service. The Feature Story Service supplied articles, usually interviews or biographical sketches, to magazines and newspapers. These two departments relied on telephone and in-person interviews with reporters and on mass mailings of their mimeographed stories to papers, syndicates, news agencies, individual writers, and press directors of state suffrage associations. In addition, these two departments supplied photographs, cartoons, mats, half tones, special suffrage editions, and suffrage supplements. Because most of the copy disseminated from the Leslie Bureau was further distributed by news syndicates, Bureau director Rose Young estimated the NAWSA suffrage stories were printed in editions of ten and twenty million. "Sometimes the clippings returned on one story alone would swamp the filing sources of the Bureau," she recalled.[8] The Department of Field Press, with the aid of state suffrage association press directors, conducted a census of major newspapers in every state to determine each editor's opinion on suffrage, then catagorized the paper as favorable, non-committed, or unfavorable. The Field Press Department then supplied each state press office with information, statistics, and arguments written to suit the local climate. The Research Department supplied the demand for historic and statistical information on suffrage, collecting and verifying data for NAWSA members and the general public. The Magazine Department published the WOMAN CITIZEN. The magazine was the result of a merger of three east coast suffrage newspapers, including the WOMAN'S JOURNAL, which had been founded by Lucy Stone and Henry B. Blackwell in 1870. The WOMAN CITIZEN appeared in June, 1917, and was eventually distributed weekly to the 531

members of the U.S. Congress as well as to readers throughout the country. The Department of Editorial Correspondence, like the Research Department, had existed within NAWSA before the Leslie Bureau was founded. Its sole purpose was to answer editorials on suffrage, and it was all Ida Husted Harper's idea.[9]

When Harper became Chairman of the Department of Editorial Correspondence in the Leslie Bureau, she was 66; she had spent 40 years working in support of women's rights and suffrage. Her work with the Leslie Bureau reveals that she was a paradoxically orthodox reformer, devoted to change, yet willing to compromise some of her values for The Cause. Born in Indiana in 1851, Harper began her professional journalism career in Terre Haute in 1878. Her column, "A Woman's Opinions," was one of the first of many women's columns in the Terre Haute EVENING MAIL to discuss women's rights and suffrage. The same year, Harper met Susan B. Anthony for the first time. Eugene Debs sponsored her controversial appearance in Terre Haute after a local literary club refused to do so. Harper was then married to Thomas Harper, the chief counsel for Debs' Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen, and from 1883-1894 she wrote a monthly column, usually about women's issues, for Debs' LOCOMOTIVE FIREMEN'S MAGAZINE. In 1890, two weeks after divorcing Thomas Harper, she became managing editor of the Terre Haute DAILY NEWS, leading it through a spirited local election and supporting Republican reform candidates who eventually won. She became secretary of the newly formed Indiana auxiliary to the National Woman Suffrage Association in 1887, and in 1896, having moved so she and her daughter could go to Stanford University, became Chairman of the Press Committee for the California

suffrage campaign. Despite the campaign's failure, her work there impressed Susan B. Anthony enough that Anthony asked Harper to write her biography. Harper then moved in with Anthony at her Rochester, New York home to research the book.[10] Harper traveled with Anthony throughout the United States and Europe during these years and served as head of the press committee for the International Council of Women from 1899-1902. For nearly five years, she also wrote a weekly column for the New York SUNDAY SUN, the first metropolitan daily to establish a suffrage department as a regular feature. She also edited a woman's page in HARPER'S BAZAAR from 1909-1913, and wrote syndicated weekly articles for newspapers in New York, Washington, D.C., Boston, Philadelphia, and Indianapolis.[11]

Ida Husted Harper was a second generation suffragist, one of the group who began taking control of the movement around the turn of the century. She was born only three years after the Seneca Falls convention and was a contemporary of Alice Stone Blackwell and Harriet Stanton Blatch, daughters of the first generation's Lucy Stone and Elizabeth Cady Stanton. Members of the activist first generation died during this time--Stone in 1893, Stanton in 1902, and Anthony in 1906. Not only did the cast of characters change, but the movement's tactics and ideology changed at the turn of the century as well. The second generation chose a more conservative, systematic path than the abolition-trained pioneers, rejecting anything they considered shocking. The first generation had based its demands for the vote on justice, calling suffrage a natural right. Women were created equal to men and therefore had the same inalienable right as men to consent to the laws by which they were governed. With the new immigration, however,

devotion to this idea became riddled with exceptions: to the second generation, women were different from men. Women--white women, that is--were superior to blacks and European immigrants, so granting women the vote, they believed, would not only ensure white superiority, but would also engender societal reform. The second generation thus laid aside the earlier demand for justice, which had evidently failed, and set about getting the vote in any way that worked. For some suffragists, the vote was the means toward social reform; for others, the primary objective was the vote, and they pursued social reform to get it.[12] Ida Husted Harper was typical of the second generation suffragist: her early writings indicate that she saw the vote as a means toward social reform, especially temperance.[13] Her later work for the Leslie Bureau reveals that she regarded the vote as the end itself. She also believed white women were superior to non-whites and that the only appropriate tactic to win reform was to work with the power structure, not to offend it.

Harper assumed her responsibility as Editorial Chairman with a clear understanding of the power of the press and a lifetime of learning how to harness that power. She took her responsibility seriously, for in the two years she served the Leslie Bureau, she issued nearly 8,000 letters.[14] Harper's reason for creating the Department of Editorial Correspondence was based on the assumption that editors would publish an answer to their editorials more readily than they would a general letter, and on the belief that the new interest in woman suffrage expressed in the press deserved official response.[15] In the middle of November, 1916, Harper began her correspondence. In the first two months she answered nearly 300 editorials

and received "gratifying" responses. Favorable editorials were applauded, innaccurate editorials were corrected, and "anti" editorials were answered with information Harper hoped would persuade editors to support the cause. Harper employed the services of a clipping bureau and, although she judged its services inadequate, "it brought back so many of these answers; and so many received from other sources, as to justify the belief that they were very generally published and frequently called forth another editorial." [14]

In March, 1917, Harper's office was transferred to the Leslie Bureau of Suffrage Education, and its scope expanded. During the first year, Harper also responded to speeches by prominent people, especially politicians. She researched and wrote several pamphlets, such as one detailing the difficulty of amending each state's constitution, and then distributed them to U.S. Congressmen. She sent long, detailed articles to papers across the country and also corresponded regularly with Millicent Fawcett, head of the English suffrage movement and its representative to the International Woman Suffrage Alliance. Harper sent her progress reports, news clippings, and monthly articles for Fawcett's INTERNATIONAL SUFFRAGE NEWS. When one topic seemed especially important to Harper, as the Congressional Union often did, she fired off one letter--called a circular letter--and reproduced it by the hundreds, even thousands. Scores of letters were distributed detailing the illogicality of "anti" propaganda and discussing the opposition's connections with the German-American Alliance, corporate interests, and the liquor industry. Harper was convinced that business interests, especially liquor, controlled newspapers as influential as the NEW YORK TIMES, a suffrage foe with whom she traded frequent letters over its refusal to publish her

rebuttals to its editorials.[17] During that first year, Harper wrote to over 2,000 editors of religious, reform, financial, temperance, labor, and technical papers, as well as traditional dailies.[18] In her year-end report to the Leslie Commission, Harper wrote that this was the first time many editors had come in contact with the "National" or known their own work was reaching anyone beyond their community. "Many who were wavering have been persuaded to come out definitely in favor; this has been especially noticeable in the South," Harper wrote. "In a number of cases papers which condemned a Federal Amendment have been helped to see its necessity, and this in the South as well as the North."[19]

During Harper's second year with the Leslie Bureau, she sent to a "carefully selected" list of 700 southern newspapers two copies of a pro-suffrage speech made by Senator Morris Sheppard, Democrat from Texas.[20] She started sending open letters to the home state papers of opposition Senators, such as those from New Jersey, South Carolina, and Tennessee; she mailed letters detailing NAWSA's support of organized labor to labor-oriented newspapers throughout the country, and with one circular letter included suffrage literature, an editorial by Carrie Chapman Catt, and her own pamphlet supporting the federal amendment. By the end of 1918, when her duties ended, Harper estimated that 300-500 editorials on suffrage were coming into her office every month and that suffrage was as much a subject of comment in the papers as any political issue of the day.[21]

Harper's voluminous correspondence confirms that by her maturity she had become a conservative reformer indeed, thoroughly representative of the expedient, second generation suffragist. Her primary tactic was to

fit her material to her audience, regardless of the injury to consistency which occasionally resulted. This flexibility was most evident in her efforts to persuade southern editors of the benefits of the federal amendment, for she wanted to calm their palpitations over relinquishing states' rights and white supremacy. Her reactions to the militant Congressional Union-Woman's Party were more consistent, however, and reveal how committed she was to the conservative approach. Her treatment of these three subjects--the federal amendment, race, and the Congressional Union--deserves a closer look.

Above all, Harper's purpose was to persuade editors to support a federal amendment rather than the agonizingly slow state-by-state method. She sent western editors, many of whose states had already granted various forms of woman suffrage, arguments favoring the federal amendment; she acclaimed western suffrage when she wrote to the South; and she did both when she wrote to papers in the East. When she could not move an editor at all, Harper wrote to suffragists in the city to learn what influences lay behind the paper (and usually found "they were such as gave the editor no chance to express his own opinions").[22]

In her most ambitious project, she took advantage of the New York state amendment victory of November, 1917 and wrote a four-page circular letter on the need for a federal amendment. She mailed the letter to 350 newspapers in December, and the response encouraged her to mail it to 2600 more papers, including religious, educational, agricultural, and technical papers, even papers published in German, Yiddish, Italian, Norwegian, Danish, and Finnish.[23]

Harper knew that the federal amendment cause owed a great debt to the New York state amendment victory. It was "the greatest victory ever won for woman suffrage," she wrote in the December circular letter, "as more women were enfranchised than ever before at one time, even in an entire country . . . ."[24] In fact, the New York victory assured eventual victory throughout the nation. It was the last in a long and sporadic string of state amendments: Wyoming was the first territory or state to grant full political equality to women, in 1869. Between 1869 and 1916 there were 41 state campaigns, of which only nine were successful. But with the New York victory, enough U.S. Representatives and Senators finally had women constituents that the federal amendment was as good as won.[25] Actually, Harper had been stunned by the New York victory.[26] In a letter to Adele Burleson, asking for help in securing a pro-suffrage statement from her husband, Postmaster General Albert Sidney Burleson, Harper reported that the campaign was over, "and we are going to lose. We shall not be able to carry any Eastern state by a referendum to the voters in my time."[27] It may have been this low state of mind which prompted Harper to write to Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, "I shall never lift a finger for a campaign in an Eastern State, but I hope I may live to see woman suffrage crammed down the throats of every one of them by a Federal Amendment."[28] Harper therefore clearly realized the impetus the New York victory gave the federal cause, and gave credit to it in her circular letter.

As important as the New York victory was, however, Harper emphasized that the federal amendment was "the ultimate goal of the vast majority of suffragists."[29] It was the object Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady

Stanton had had in mind when they had created the National Woman Suffrage Association in 1869. While suffragists continued to fight for the amendment's passage, Anthony and Stanton had realized that Congressmen would not act until pressured by their states, and so had moved toward a state-by-state approach, Harper explained in the circular letter. But women should no longer be compelled to bear the burden and expense of these state campaigns, she said. The New York fight alone had eventually cost nearly $700,000. And conditions existed in New York which did not exist elsewhere, or at other times: women's war work was rewarded in New York, the Socialist Party was stronger there than anywhere else, as were trade unions, both of which favored woman suffrage. Harper noted President Woodrow Wilson's support as well and concluded that such a combination of circumstances would not be possible in any other state. Then Harper pleaded to more expedient interests:

> There should be careful consideration of what it means for the women to appeal to the individual voters. It means that they must beg and pray for the support of thousands of ignorant immigrants and of men of every creed, race, color, and condition. It means that they must go on their knees to the liquor and vice interests and to the intemperate, immoral and degraded of every kind. In the North and in the South it seems as if every man should wish to spare women from this humiliation instead of forcing it upon them in order to obtain their enfranchisement. It seems as if the men in every State should wish to set their women free from the drudgery of these State campaigns in order that their services might be utilized along the many channels of social welfare where they are so much needed. 30

Harper continued her letter with an explanation of the difficulty of amending differing state constitutions, pointing out that if one state a year adopted suffrage, it would take 36 years for all women to vote. Even

two states a year would take far too long. Besides, before that time had elapsed, "every progressive country in the world will have given suffrage to women and the United States will come in at the very end of the procession. This is unthinkable."[31] In addition to these arguments, Harper also invoked the old justice argument, pointing out that allowing only men to vote controverted the intent of the nation's founders to provide individual representation. But she then added a second generation expedient, a sop to the South: the federal amendment would still not prohibit each state from making its own requirements for voting, except that they might not disqualify anyone because of sex.[32] While the December circular letter did not spell out her intent, southerners could easily read between the lines: Harper would not object if states decided race was a criterion for voting.

Competition between race and sex had begun early in the movement. The Seneca Falls Convention itself had been called because women had been barred from the World Anti-Slavery Conference at London in 1840. Feminists and abolitionists joined forces after 1848, seeking equality for women and blacks, but with the introduction of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments after the Civil War, reformers were forced to choose sides. The Fourteenth Amendment introduced "male" to the Constitution in describing voters, and the Fifteenth listed all conditions except sex as those which could not be used to prohibit voting. Suddenly it appeared that black men would get the vote before white women, and the result was a schism in the suffrage movement. In 1869 Stanton and Anthony formed the National Woman Suffrage Association, opposed the two Reconstruction amendments, and supported the passage of a federal amendment solely for woman

suffrage. The same year, Lucy Stone and Henry Ward Beecher formed the American Woman Suffrage Association to support votes for blacks and a state-by-state campaign for woman suffrage. The two groups finally reconciled in 1890, but even in 1899, Susan B. Anthony made it clear that the cause of blacks and the cause of women were separate.[33]

Racism was pervasive and murderous by the turn of the century. Between 1895 and 1915, southern states systematically disfranchised blacks and condoned lynching and other violence to enforce segregation.[34] At the same time, there was a growth of interest in woman suffrage in the South. NAWSA wanted all the support it could get, and if this meant sacrificing rights for blacks to secure southern white support, then that was the tactic it would use.[35] In 1903, Carrie Chapman Catt stated that NAWSA's policy on "the race problem" was neutral, but it was not. NAWSA allowed each auxiliary to decide for itself whether to admit clubs of black women. In 1917, NAWSA instituted its "Program of Americanization," a patriotic attempt to meet President Wilson's desire that "every element of difference among us will be obliterated."[36]

Harper's racial attitudes were typical of those among the NAWSA leadership, though she learned to be more subtle in public than she had been in the past. In 1892 she had referred to enfranchised American Indians as "immoral, dirty, idle, half-civilized . . . , superstitious, vicious, with no conception of the principles of government, ignorant of law."[37] By 1912, she was able merely to imply to a House Judiciary Committee that Anglo whites were the only real Americans.[38]

Clearly, Harper believed in the superiority of educated white women. She was repeatedly angered when blacks, Indians, and immigrants were enfranchised, for women were "better qualified as to education, temperance, morality, ethics, work for social welfare and devotion to home than any class which ever was enfranchised." [39] Education was, of course, one of the qualifications used to disfranchise blacks in the South. Harper often told southern editors, as she did the editor of the Dallas EVENING JOURNAL, that she "understood" their position on states' rights and emphasized, as she had in her circular letter, that the federal amendment would still leave every state free to prescribe the qualifications for voting. "States which now disfranchise negro men would not require any new legislation to disfranchise negro women," she wrote the Dallas editor. In a note she penciled on her copy of this letter Harper added, "This correspondence finally resulted in the paper's becoming a strong advocate of Fed. Suff. Amend." [40]

A letter to the New Orleans TIMES-PICAYUNE was even more explicit. Harper explained to the editor that NAWSA

> is entirely willing that every State shall impose educational, property-holding or any qualifications that it sees fit, except the one of sex. . . . Why should it be assumed that the Federal Government would be any more likely to interfere in the case of negro women than it does now in the case of negro men? The ratio between the whites and the blacks would not be changed in any State by enfranchising the colored women and whatever protection is now considered necessary could be continued.

Apparently Harper saw no relationship between her attitude (and NAWSA'S)

and the perpetuation of racism and segregation, because she added,

> The suffragists never have taken any part in questions of race segregation, social equality or any others at issue between the negro and the white population. In the States where women vote the relations between the races have never been changed in the slightest degree, but of course the experiment in the North would not offer the same test as it would in the South. . . . The South will always have the colored woman and for this reason must the white women forever remain disfranchised? 41

In her letters to northern papers, Harper mentioned the qualification rights states would retain, but in no racial detail. Instead she emphasized that the amendment applied to women of "every race, creed, color and condition," that NAWSA had "always admitted colored women to membership," and that it had "steadfastly refused to contribute a dollar or a worker to any State which desired to amend its constitution so as to enfranchise white women only." [42] What she did not mention was NAWSA's "neutral" membership policy, or the fact that NAWSA was not foolish enough to support any clearly unconstitutional scheme. Besides, blacks were effectively disfranchised anyway.

Harper's communication with blacks was indirect, but her message was essentially the same as that to northern papers. When the chairman of the New York Woman Suffrage Party was invited to speak to a group of blacks in October, 1917, Harper sent her an official NAWSA statement on "the color question" for use at the meeting. Not surprisingly, the statement said nothing about states' rights; it did mention Frederick Douglass, Mary Church Terrell, and two lesser known black women as speakers at suffrage functions, claimed credit for having won for the National Colored Woman's Association its membership in the National Council of

Women, and reiterated NAWSA's refusal to support state attempts at one-race enfranchisement. The statement concluded, "The National Suffrage Association has an absolutely clear record of having always stood for equal, educational civil and political rights for all women, black and white."[43]

In fact, NAWSA's record was murky, not clear. As Harper's letters indicate, her dedication to equal rights--and NAWSA's--was invoked only for the benefit of certain audiences, and even at that it was superficial. Harper's willingness to fit her ideas to her readers was entirely representative of the expedient second generation.

It was a third generation, the militants led by Alice Paul, who finally shook up the old guard and challenged their ways. Alice Paul and Lucy Burns were originally members of NAWSA's Congressional Committee, Paul having served as its Chairman. Apprentices of the militant wing of the British suffrage movement, they both had been jailed and force fed in Great Britain. They came home in 1910 and in 1912 began to push NAWSA to support a federal amendment. In 1913, they organized a parade of 5,000 women in Washington and scheduled it for the day before Wilson's inauguration. It deteriorated into near riot, with little police protection for the marchers. Yet the incident created favorable publicity for the Congressional Committee, which then initiated pilgrimages and petition drives. Paul and Burns formed the Congressional Union (CU) to fight for the federal amendment, but Paul remained head of NAWSA's Congressional Committee too. The Union's desire to pursue a federal amendment met opposition in the more orthodox NAWSA, and in 1914 the two organizations finally went their own ways. The Congressional Union decided to use the British tactic of holding the party in power

responsible for failure to pass the suffrage bill. Thus it campaigned against Democrats regardless of their suffrage stand, and opposed Wilson's re-election. To carry out its plan, the CU formed the National Woman's Party in 1916 in the 12 states where women could vote in presidential elections. In 1917, the CU adopted more militant tactics still, picketing the White House, lighting bonfires, being arrested, and initiating hunger strikes in jail. Meanwhile, NAWSA, although it had come to support a federal amendment in 1916, maintained a non-partisan position, sought to win Wilson's support rather than antagonize him, and criticized the CU for alienating necessary votes from both parties. The two groups could not have been much more different.[44]

It is little wonder then that the Congressional Union and Woman's Party vexed Ida Harper. She strived repeatedly to disassociate NAWSA from the militants in editors' minds. Only her letters about the federal amendment outnumber those on the CU. She issued many circular letters on the group--one condemning picketing, one differentiating the two groups, one denying the CU's contention that Susan B. Anthony was a militant, one describing the CU's function and organization, one answering editorials that credited British militants with having won suffrage, and another pointing out "the little they had accomplished compared with the great work of this Association."[45] Each circular letter went out to 125-350 newspapers. Harper was clearly afraid that the CU would eventually be given credit for winning the vote. The fact that Harper had to respond to so much publicity about the CU was an indication of its ability to capture attention, and getting attention focused on suffrage was a major reason for its final victory.

In each circular letter on the CU, Harper pointed out that NAWSA was comprised of 97 or 98 per cent of the enrolled suffragists and was always non-partisan and non-militant. All of the leaders and most of the NAWSA members, she said, knew the CU was not a camouflage for anti-suffragists as some believed, but thought its tactics were "an injury to the cause of woman suffrage and have created a resentment on the part of thousands of its supporters which it will require a long time to overcome."[46] If Susan B. Anthony had been a militant, Harper assured the editors, it was only "in the sense in which we speak of the 'church militant', always courageous and aggressive in writing and speaking for her cause, but never sanctioning in the slightest degree anything in the nature of militancy through physical demonstration."[47] Harper blamed the newspapers for giving the CU exactly what it wanted, publicity, and thus for damaging the suffrage cause.[48] As far as Harper was concerned, the "advanced status of the movement is due to its dignified and conservative methods, and with the interest of the whole country now thoroughly roused, no other methods are necessary. . . . The proper course for all branches . . . is to work in harmony with the National Association . . . ."[49]

While it would have been anathema to Harper, the Congressional Union and Woman's Party deserved a great deal of credit for the success of the Nineteenth Amendment, for they mobilized attention when it was desperately needed. It is likely that neither group could claim all the credit, for it took a combination of tactics to win. In any event, the road to victory seemed so certain that Harper closed the Department of Editorial Correspondence in December, 1918 in order to begin work on the last two volumes of the

HISTORY OF WOMAN SUFFRAGE, her last official duty for the cause.[50]

When Harper gathered up her papers and evaluated the work of her department in 1919, she wrote about the change she had caused:

> The old-time attacks were almost entirely absent [by this time] ; the editorials showed knowledge and discrimination; fully nine-tenths of the Northern newspapers advocated not only woman suffrage but the Federal Amendment, while in every Southern State some leading papers were in favor of enfranchising women and one or more approved of its being done through this amendment. This editorial department of the Leslie Bureau might venture to claim some share in the evolution of editorial opinion, to which of course many causes contributed. 51

She was probably right. The Leslie Bureau made a difference, but there were many causes contributing to the final victory: the state campaigns, slow as they were, finally provided enough women voters to force the issue in Washington; then the federal amendment made the wearisome state campaigns no longer necessary. The CU arroused attention, which was what NAWSA needed to make its systematic, persistent plan work. For sheer longevity, NAWSA deserved special credit. None of its original leaders lived to see their life's work won. The vote on the Nineteenth Amendment finally passed the Senate June 4, 1919. Once it was ratified, August 26, 1920, the struggle that had been waged for 71 years, by three generations of suffragists, was finally over.

FOOTNOTES

[1] See Rose Young, THE RECORD OF THE LESLIE WOMAN SUFFRAGE COMMISSION, INC. 1917-1929 (New York, 1929).

[2] Ida Husted Harper, THE HISTORY OF WOMAN SUFFRAGE (New York, 1922), V, 755, 614.

[3] Eleanor Flexner, CENTURY OF STRUGGLE: THE WOMAN'S RIGHTS MOVEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES (Cambridge, Mass., 1959, 1975), chapters XIX, XX; Aileen Kraditor, IDEAS OF THE WOMAN SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT: 1890-1920 (Garden City, New York, 1971), 8-9, 166-167.

[4] Flexner, CENTURY OF STRUGGLE, 279; Harper, HISTORY OF WOMAN SUFFRAGE, V, chapter XVI.

[5] Harper, HISTORY OF WOMAN SUFFRAGE, V, chapter XVI.

[6] Young, RECORD OF THE LESLIE WOMAN SUFFRAGE COMMISSION, 89-94.

[7] Ibid., 67.

[8] Ibid., 70.

[9] Ibid., 67-75. Ida Husted Harper, "Report of Department of Editorial Correspondence, Leslie Bureau of Suffrage Education, November 16, 1916, November 16, 1917," Papers of the Leslie Woman Suffrage Commission, Leslie Bureau of Suffrage Education, Department of Editorial Correspondence, Library of Congress (hereafter Leslie Papers, LC).

[10] Two volumes of THE LIFE AND WORK OF SUSAN B. ANTHONY (Indianapolis) appeared in 1899 and a third volume (Indianapolis) was published in 1908.

[11] For an account of Harper's early writing, see Nancy Baker Jones, "A Forgotten Feminist: The Early Writings of Ida Husted Harper, 1878-1894," INDIANA MAGAZINE OF HISTORY, LXXIII (June 1977), 79-101. For other biographical information, see Harper and Susan B. Anthony, eds., THE HISTORY OF WOMAN SUFFRAGE (Indianapolis, 1902), IV, 326, 487, 490-491, 615; Harper, HISTORY OF WOMAN SUFFRAGE, V, 15, 137, 287, 359-362, 385-387; and Clifton J. Phillips, "Ida A. Husted Harper," in Edward T. James, Janet Wilson James, and Paul S. Boyer, eds., NOTABLE AMERICAN WOMEN, 1607-1950: A BIOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY (Cambridge, Mass., 1971), 139-140.

12 Kraditor, IDEAS OF THE WOMAN SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT, x, 38-57.

13 Jones, "Forgotten Feminist."

14 Ida Husted Harper, "Quarterly Report to Leslie Commission, September 17-December 31, 1918," Leslie Papers, LC.

15 Harper, "Report, November 1916-November 1917"; Harper to Martina G. Kramers, December 13, 1918; Harper to Mary Sheepshanks, October 19, 1918, Leslie Papers, LC.

16 Ida Husted Harper, "Report of Department of Editorial Correspondence, prepared for the official report of the National Suffrage Convention in St. Louis, March 25-29, 1919," Leslie Papers, LC.

17 Harper to Millicent Fawcett, September 19, 1918; Harper to Adolph H. Ochs, January 29, 1918, February 5, 1918; Harper to H. R. Graves, February 13, 1918, February 21, 1918; Harper to Mrs. George Pickering, September 24, 1918, Leslie Papers, LC.

18 Harper, "Report, March 25-29, 1919"; Harper, "Report, November 1916-November 1917," Leslie Papers, LC.

19 Harper, "Report, November 1916-November 1917," Leslie Papers, LC.

20 Harper corresponded with Senator Morris Sheppard from August 7, 1918 to October 8, 1918 to arrange the purchase and distribution of 2900 copies of his speech. Leslie Papers, LC.

21 Harper, "Report, March 25-29, 1919," Leslie Papers, LC.

22 Harper, "Report, November 1916-November 1917," Leslie Papers, LC.

23 Ida Husted Harper, "Bi-Monthly Report to Leslie Commission, November 17, 1917--January 17, 1918," Leslie Papers, LC.

24 Harper, circular letter, December 7, 1917, Leslie Papers, LC. The ideas in this letter, and in a similar circular letter dated January 17, 1918 (which included statistics on the January passage of the suffrage bill by the U.S. House of Representatives), also appear in many other letters, such as those to Laura Clay, Mary Howell, Grace C. Simmons, Adele Burleson, Kate Gordon, the Dallas EVENING JOURNAL, the Aberdeen AMERICAN, the Detroit FREE PRESS, the Buffalo DEMOCRAT, the Aurora (Missouri) DAILY ADVERTISER, and the New York EVENING WORLD. Leslie Papers, LC.

25 National American Woman Suffrage Association, VICTORY: HOW WOMEN WON IT (New York, 1940), 72; Kraditor, IDEAS OF THE WOMAN SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT, 3-4.

26 Harper to Mrs. Caroline Reilley, November 14, 1917, Leslie Papers, LC.

27 Harper to Mrs. Albert Sidney Burleson, November 5, 1917, Leslie Papers, LC.

28 Harper to Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, October 10, 1917, Leslie Papers, LC.

29 Harper, circular letter, December 17, 1917, Leslie Papers, LC.

30 Ibid.

31 Ibid.

32 Ibid.

33 Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, and Matilda Joslyn Gage, eds., HISTORY OF WOMAN SUFFRAGE (New York, 1882), II, 168-177, 378-406, 756; Stanton, Anthony, and Gage, eds., HISTORY OF WOMAN SUFFRAGE (New York, 1881), I, 13; Kraditor, IDEAS OF THE WOMAN SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT, 138-141.

34 See Christopher Lasch, "The Anti-Imperialists, the Philippines, and the Inequality of Man," JOURNAL OF SOUTHERN HISTORY, XXIV (August 1958), 319-331; C. Van Woodward, ORIGINS OF THE NEW SOUTH (Baton Rouge, 1951), chapters XII, XIII; Woodward, THE STRANGE CAREER OF JIM CROW (New York, 1955, 1957, 1966), chapter III.

35
Kraditor, IDEAS OF THE WOMAN SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT, chapter 7.

36
Harper, HISTORY OF WOMAN SUFFRAGE, V, 59, 83; THE WOMAN CITIZEN, June 30, 1917, 85-86.

37
Ida Husted Harper, "Our New Voters," LOCOMOTIVE FIREMEN'S MAGAZINE, September 1892, 795.

38
Harper, HISTORY OF WOMAN SUFFRAGE, V, 361.

39
Harper to the editor, New York HERALD, January 9, 1918, Leslie Papers, LC.

40
Harper to Tom Finty, July 5, 1917, Leslie Papers, LC.

41
Harper to the editor, New Orleans TIMES-PICAYUNE, March 25, 1918, Leslie Papers, LC.

42
Harper to the editor, New York EVENING POST, November 1, 1918; Harper to the editor, New York GLOBE, November 1, 1918, Leslie Papers, LC.

43
Harper to Mary Garret Hay, October 19, 1917; NAWSA statement is not titled or dated, but was enclosed with the Hay letter and was probably written by Harper. Leslie Papers, LC.

44
Flexner, CENTURY OF STRUGGLE, chapters XX, XXI.

45
Harper, "Report, November 1916-November 1917"; Harper, "Bi-Monthly Report," Leslie Papers, LC.

46
Harper, circular letter, February 17, 1917, Leslie Papers, LC.

47
Ibid.

48
Harper, circular letter, July 20, 1917, Leslie papers, LC. Other circular letters on the CU were written November 26, 1917, August 9, 1918, and August 14, 1918. In addition to circular letters, Harper wrote personal-

ized letters to editors throughout the United States about the CU. See for example those to the Birmingham (Alabama) AGE-HERALD, San Francisco BULLETIN, Washington, D.C. EVENING STAR and HERALD, Memphis COMMERCIAL APPEAL, Baltimore EVENING SUN, New York HERALD, AMERICAN, TRIBUNE, and EVENING JOURNAL, and the Philadelphia INQUIRER, Leslie Papers, LC.

49 Harper to Mrs. [Mary McD.] Howell, February 18, 1917, Leslie Papers, LC.

50 Harper, "Report, March 25-29, 1919," Leslie Papers, LC.

51 Ibid.